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each one of us, members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, strives to be as faithful to Marxism-Leninism *** as Stalin was faithful to this cause." The cause of Stalin was the cause of Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism.

On January 6, 1961, Khrushchev reaffirmed traditional Russian cold war policy when he stated, "We will beat the United States with small wars of liberation. We will nibble them to exhaustion all over the globe, in South America, Africa, southeast Asia." New? Not at all. For centuries Russian imperio-colonialists have been "liberating" non-Russian peoples for one reason or another. Significantly, even during the Sino-Soviet talks in Moscow, July 1963, Russian organs emphasized that the Red Chinese have nothing over the Soviet Russians in the pursuit of these wars of liberation. And this immediately prior to the signing of the nuclear test ban treaty.

THE INTENSIFIED COLD WAR

Confronted now by the massive competition issuing from Peiping for leadership among the Communist parties throughout the world, Moscow will have to intensify its cold war efforts in order that its demonstrative deeds will exceed the stern competitor's. Unavoidably, we shall feel the brunt of all this. Whether we like it or not, the demands for cold war education on our part will be greater than ever before.

In meeting these demands we shall truly have to reexamine our views, habits, and notions regarding the Soviet Union. Karl Marx wrote, "The Russian bear is certainly capable of anything, so long as he knows the other animals he has to deal with to be capable of nothing." In the contemporary context this, of course, is an extreme historical observation, since the eagle, the lion, and others are capable of more than nothing. Yet this Marxian insight into the nature of the beast, regardless of his ideologic pigmentation, carries immense weight and validity in the one sphere on clear-cut Soviet Russian superiority—the all-embracing sphere of political psychology, artful propaganda, systematic imagemaking. It is in this sphere, incorporating and interrelating into a manifest whole of projected imagery factors of ideologic, political, economic, military-space, and general cultural character, that imperial Moscow wages its Communist assault on American freedom.

In 1960, and on many occasions since, we Americans have been seriously concerned about the image of the United States in the world at large. We have been concerned about our prestige, about how other peoples and nations regard us as to our intentions, our goals, economic performance, scientific feats, military capability, and national will. However, curiously enough, we have paid relatively little attention to the totalistic processes and attainments of Soviet Russian imagemaking. Category by category, ranging from the ideologic to the athletic, on the average we far surpass the Russians, but yet somehow, in the aggregate and in the minds of millions throughout the world, we are held to be in fierce competition by an adversary who claims the future will rest with him.

The whole of the Soviet Russian image far exceeds the sum of its parts. The remarkable ability of Moscow's totalitarians to project such a dynamic and imposing image is the consummate result of a number of institutional reasons. This unique capacity in global Potemkinism is founded in the totalizing political realm on a rich heritage of practical and speculative experience that includes, over the centuries, the cumulative achievements of empire building, the deep perceptions into the recesses of human behavior by the Dostoyevskys, the Tolstoys, and the Pavlovs, the long traditions of revolutionary and conspiratorial activity, the secret

society, and the Iron Curtain, and—in the basic institutional lineage of the khans, czars, and commissars—efficient practices in totalitarian control. A study and understanding of this type of assault—the assault of creative imagery to influence, deceive, and confuse in preparation for practical conquest—should guard us against emotional swings of underestimation as well as overestimation, against needless concessions as well as narrow rigidity, in coping with the centuries-shaped adversary. Above all, knowing that the Soviet Union is the crucial power center and all else, including Red China, is basically adventitious, they should motivate us in concentrating on a complete unmasking of both the assault and the assaulter.

SOVIET RUSSIAN IDEOLOGY IN THE COLD WAR

When Khrushchev visited the United States in 1959, every American had the opportunity to witness at first hand the display and manipulation of the philosophico-ideologic component in the image Moscow has sought to convey to the world. The march of communism, burying decadent capitalism, is supposedly in the historical works. This was the philosophico-ideologic pitch made by Khrushchev; this has been the fraudulent pitch made by the successors of the Russian czars since the establishment of Soviet Russia in 1917 and the forced inception of the Soviet Union in 1923. And, strangely enough, countless of our citizens continue to believe that the real struggle is between capitalism and communism. This specious belief is an ideological-propagandist achievement by Moscow.

Those who have had systematic training in Marxism and its organic structure of thought, have over the years attempted to impress upon the inquiring mind the fact that Marxism is a mythical foundation of Leninism and all the ismatic variations that have followed. The arbitrary attachment of Marxism to the Soviet Russian ideologic scheme may lend philosophical dignity and status to the superficial operationalism of Lenin's works and those that followed, but in fact Marxism bears so much relationship to Russian totalitarian thought and, objectively, to the Soviet Union, as does French physiocracy to our society. On fundamental doctrinal points of economic determinism, the concept of society versus state, the forced institution of socialism in underdeveloped areas, the Leninist totalitarian vanguard, Marxian philosophical humanism, and the labor theory of value, Marxism in the Russian ideological scheme stands as a crass perversion.

Fortunately, in our country more and more is being written about this ideologic perversion. More and more of our people are beginning to realize that communism is an instrument of ideologic deception manipulated by the real enemy, Soviet Russia imperio-colonialism; that Marxism is a false credential in the Soviet Russian image, a facade behind which the real forces of imperialist conquest and colonial exploitation operate; that the real struggle is not between capitalism and communism but, instead, between freedom and Soviet Russian totalitarianism; and that Moscow's cold war manipulation of a perverted ideology is not a new practice. The czars, like the commissars, also hid behind ideologic masks—those of religious orthodoxy and racist pan-Slavism.

Accumulated evidence clearly shows that when we strike out against ideologic communism, scarcely a ripple is produced in Moscow. On the other hand, when we penetrate the ideologic veneer and merely scratch the real enemy of Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism, the bear squeals. Much remains to be done in exposing the philosophico-ideologic fraud of the Soviet Russian image.

and negatively a study of Marxism can do it. Positively, a study of Marxism and its historical interpretations and insights into the Russian Empire, traditional Russian cold war activity, and the perennial goals of Russian statism helps immensely in the formation of accurate historical perspectives on this East European and Asiatic problem. However, it is also indispensable to penetrate the political component of the total Soviet Russian image for our understanding of the Communist assault on American freedom.

THE SOVIET RUSSIAN POTEMKIN VILLAGE

Marx called the Czarist Russian Empire a "prison house of nations." Today, this conception is no less applicable to the Commissars' Soviet Union, the political component in the Soviet Russian image. When, as in the case of Marxism and Communist ideology, we fail to analyze critically the terms in use and carelessly identify Russia and the Soviet Union, Moscow has no problem in projecting the image of an expanding nation-state with numerous so-called minorities and ethnic groups, similar to the United States. In fact, this fallacious concept is contained in the test ban treaty. When, on the other hand, the U.S.S.R. is shown to be an imperio-colonial system where many different nations are held in captivity, Moscow is compelled to shift its cold war gears and attempts to cast the image of multinational fraternity and brotherhood.

The facts are that the Soviet Union is a "prison house of nations," a basic empire which forms the foundation of the expanded Soviet Russian Empire, and that colonial exploitation in this substrate empire is rife. The more we concentrate on the true nature of the U.S.S.R., the more Moscow is compelled to defend its false image of multinational coexistence, and the more we see the opportunities before us in the cold war. How all this came to be what it is, is the clue to an understanding of the last remaining major empire in the world.

Evidence on this vital score is abundant. When Khrushchev in July 1959, exploded over the Captive Nations Week resolution, he did so because, for the first time, an official act of our Government pierced the false image of the U.S.S.R. In 1960 he appeared in the U.N., purposely to deflect growing attention in this country on the imperio-colonialism that prevails in the U.S.S.R. by stimulating debate on so-called Western imperialism and colonialism. Down to this day, when pressure is exerted and the false image of the U.S.S.R.—the global-appealing Potemkin Village—is placed under critical scrutiny, Moscow takes to the defensive in an attempt to preserve its image. Witness these examples, for instance: (1) the series titled "The 15 Soviet Republics, Today and Tomorrow" (Soviet Booklets, London, 1959-60) that was ordered by Moscow for mass printing in England soon after the Captive Nations Week episode in 1959; (2) the scandalous UNESCO study, "Equality of Rights Between Races and Nationalities in the U.S.S.R." (by I. P. Tsameyan and S. Ronin, UNESCO, 1962), which we helped to subsidize but which few Americans have been able to obtain—including, it is said, Ambassador Stevenson—is a neat, disreputable work of half-truths designed to preserve at all costs the political component of the Soviet Russian image.

Here, too, much study and work remain to be done. Yet, when our own Secretary of State believes the Soviet Union is a historical state, of which Georgia, Armenia, and Ukraine are "traditional parts"—only to be completely contradicted by our U.N. ambassador shortly thereafter; when we spend \$20,000 for an arms control and disarmament study (Walter Millis: "The Political Control of an International Police Force") to be told that "whether we admit it to our-

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selves or not, we benefit enormously from the capability of the Soviet police system to keep law and order over the 200-million-odd Russians and the many additional millions in the satellite states"; when, repeating an old and stale argument, Rostow tells us that it is "an American interest to see the end of nationhood as it has been historically defined," one cannot but begin to wonder who is helping whom in preserving the Soviet Russian image. Regrettably, even the President affects the cause of truth when in his American University address in June 1963 he stated the quarter-truth that "no nation in the history of battle ever suffered more than the Russians suffered in the course of the Second World War." We need hardly wonder how the Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian and other non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R., who actually suffered the chief brunt of the Nazi German invasion, must react to this misleading statement of an American President.

OTHER COLD WAR MUSTS FOR US

The economic, military and cultural components of the grand Soviet Russian image are subject to the same critical analysis for practical disintegration. From every viewpoint, the colonial economy in the U.S.S.R. is essentially an underdeveloped economy with overdeveloped ambitions. One cannot but express amazement at times at some of the comparisons drawn between our national economy and the Soviet imperial economy, as though the two in essence were comparable. From an economy that for exactly 40 years has found it difficult to solve the elementary problem of adequately feeding its population, we have little to fear in terms of civilized economic progress.

Militarily, the U.S.S.R. is, of course, an imposing power. But, its quantitative equipment, furnished by its industrial technocracy and cold war economy, is no guarantee of its ultimate qualitative power. The military history of Russia's imperial forces in this century alone fails to attest to such ultimate power in the final showdown.

The grand image induces timidity and fear in intended victims. We are the prime target of this projected Soviet Russian image. It is an image that can be understood, deflated, and tactfully destroyed. America's victory in the cold war, with peace but toward justice and freedom, necessitates that these things be done. We cannot repeat too often Marx's own observation on the Russian Empire, now in the guise of the Soviet Union, "The only way to deal with a power like Russia is the fearless way." The partial nuclear test ban treaty is not an expression of such fearlessness. The intensified cold war should induce it.

THE LATE PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY

(Mr. RUMSFELD (at the request of Mr. MATHIAS) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD the following editorial comments which indicate, as well as any words can, the depth of feeling, the profound shock, and the grief and sorrow which is felt by the people of Illinois.

A dedicated, valiant, and sacrificing leader has been taken from the Nation by an incomprehensible act of violence. With heavy hearts, we join with millions across the globe in mourning his loss, in extending our prayers for his family, and in pledging our support to our new

President at this time of national crisis. The editorial comments follow:

[From the Chicago Sunday American, Nov. 24, 1963]

THE PRESIDENT WE'VE LOST

America's change of Presidents from John F. Kennedy to Lyndon Johnson has been brought about by bullets—methods dreadfully familiar in some countries, but strange and deeply shocking in the United States. It is especially tragic that the victim of this assassination should have been the laughing and confident Kennedy.

While he lived, he was leader of the world—the free part of the world—and he led not only because he commanded the vast resources of the United States but also because he awakened faith in his purposes among those with whom he came in contact.

In his own country he led with imagination and courage. In this time of great and rapid change, he was well suited to his task because he was a believer in change; he looked for good to come out of it, so he was not timid about letting old values go. He felt the country would benefit by the change.

Although some of his suggestions were not acceptable to many conservative minds, the American people are indebted to him because, in general, he taught them to examine novel ideas for themselves instead of responding to them entirely as the teachings of tradition dictated.

The manner of his death is shocking as well as sorrowful because it shows the presence in this country of a mind that could not differ without hate, and did not hesitate to deal death to anyone who disagreed.

If this spirit of partisan hate is widespread in this country, let us have determined campaigns to trample it out. A free country cannot govern itself except by the exercise of friendly disagreement. America must be a land of open debate, not poisonous resentments living and growing in secret.

The American people mourn John F. Kennedy. Their sympathy goes to his wife and children, his mother and father. And so his death is as deeply felt by people who disagreed with his political philosophy as by those who agreed with it. That is the spirit in which free people can govern themselves.

[From the Sun Times, Nov. 23, 1963]

AMERICA WEEPS

President Kennedy lies dead, a martyr in the cause of democratic government.

His countrymen weep in sorrow and in anger.

The immensity of the crime can hardly be grasped in these hours of confusion that inevitably have followed the assassination of the chief of the most powerful Nation in the world.

The Nation is left temporarily without a leader. Vice President Johnson will assume the heavy burden of the Presidency and the policies of the Nation will undergo no imminent change. But inevitably the assassination will change the course of history, not only in the Nation but in the world.

And it should change the temper of our times. At the moment the motive that lurked in the twisted mind of the killer is not, of course, known;

But the deed in Dallas was different only in degree of importance from such acts of violence as the bombing of houses of worship, racial murders and only last month, in the same city, the degrading assault on U.N. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson.

All of these acts of violence are the work of persons who, fundamentally, do not believe in a democratic government operating under a rule of law.

The preachers and whisperers of hate and disunity, who undermine confidence in our Government and our public officials by ir-

responsible attacks on their sanity and loyalty, plant the motives in the heads of those who pull the triggers and toss the bombs.

Those who impugn the motives of our national leaders, who defy the courts and distort the operations of the United Nations would not themselves do violence. But they engender the kind of hate that must have been in the eyes that lined up Mr. Kennedy's head in the crosshairs of a rifle sight yesterday.

The awful loss that hate visited upon the Nation and the world should inspire all Americans to join together in this hour of shock and mourning in a reexamination of the national conscience.

The right of dissent, the exercise of free speech, the criticism of the President and other public officials high and low, must not corrode into sullen rebellion that breeds violence. All Americans, those who agree with their government's policies and those who disagree, must stand together on this fundamental and demonstrate this unity by action as well as words. The purveyors of hate must acknowledge the danger they create.

When we speak of the purveyors of hate we obviously are not speaking of the President's regular political opposition, those persons in his own party and in the Republican Party who had disagreed with many of his views and policies and who also grieve for Mr. Kennedy. We are speaking of the extremists from both parties who go beyond the pale in their opposition and criticism.

The Nation owes a great debt to Mr. Kennedy who gave his life in the service of his country as surely as a soldier on the front line. And to Mrs. Kennedy and the President's family the American people offer their hearts. The personal tragedy of an assassination seldom has been as heartbreakingly evident as in the scene that followed the shooting; Mrs. Kennedy holding the President's head in her lap and weeping "Oh, no."

No, it should never have happened in America. That it did must weigh heavily on America's conscience. And if it brings a reawakening and a real change in the temper of our times Mr. Kennedy will not have died in vain. This is a prayer in which all Americans can join.

COUNTERPART FUNDS

(Mr. ANDERSON (at the request of Mr. MATHIAS) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, in view of the wide publicity that has been given to the attack levied on certain trade associations by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINNEGAN], I felt that the information contained in an article which appeared in the Rockford Morning Star on Wednesday, November 20, 1963, should be of interest to the Members of this House. Not only should the information furnished by Mr. Shepard Blumenthal, of Rockford, Ill., the president of the National Hide Association, be of interest, but I further believe that his remarks are entitled to receive the same attention as that accorded the charges that have been made. Among the most important maxims of our Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence are those that relate to a presumption of innocence and of the necessity of being proven guilty. In view of Mr. Blumenthal's prominent position in the industry that he represents, I think that it would be

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by the Department of North Dakota in 1962, and we now have 32 of these beautiful homes housing children and giving ample room for a total of 230 boys and girls.

So many comrades and sisters of our organization have contributed to the growth of the home that it is impossible to list them all. Very important assistance to the national home came from the ladies auxiliary, for example, in building the original hospital and then, as a separate project, adding a wing to that hospital. The ladies auxiliary also built the community center, the nursery, the guest lodge and the chapel, and installed a complete street-lighting system.

The Military Order of the Cootie likewise has furnished important and needed additions to the home by constructing an athletic field and field-house, as well as the beautiful swimming pool, the fire barn and its modern and efficient firetruck, which is manned by the older boys living at the national home.

It is most difficult to single out those who have contributed time and money for our national home, but this great institution is mighty close to the hearts of all the men and women of the VFW. Individual posts, county councils, districts, and departments have built streets, provided transportation and heating systems, and provided general upkeep and improvement of the cottages. The Michigan ladies' auxiliary built the relief housemothers cottage, and the department of Pennsylvania expanded and improved the Woodside Center, named in honor of a distinguished past commander in chief, Robert G. Woodside. And just recently the department of Montana built a modern dairy farmstead to house the Holstein cow herd originally started by South Dakota and provide modern and sanitary dairy equipment.

It seems that when one who loves our home attempts to discuss or describe this great institution, it is difficult to restrict the amount of time and space.

On June 30, 1962, our annual audit, certified by a CPA, showed the fixed assets of the home, including the buildings, land, livestock, et cetera, to be valued at \$1,805,084. I think you would be interested in knowing how the money is obtained for the care and education of the children at our national home.

Primarily, the source of income is threefold:

First, funds are obtained from the sale of Christmas seals to the members of the VFW and the ladies' auxiliary; and very importantly, the annual sale of the VFW buddy poppy provides vital help and income; naturally, a third source would be contributions from posts and auxiliaries, as well as donations and bequests from individuals who love this home so very dearly.

I would say that the national home of the VFW is in the very forefront of children's homes regardless of location in providing a homelike, noninstitutional atmosphere. Family-sized living units each have a house mother and provide a typical American home in suburban-

like surroundings, with complete integration into school, civic, and religious life of the nearby community of Eaton Rapids. The house mother prepares the food for her family unit, and I can assure you that I have sampled this food and would say that it is of excellent quality and that each meal is prepared and eaten in the same manner as it would be in an average American home. The blessing is offered, and the trials and tribulations of juvenile life are discussed by the children with their house mother.

The VFW has never felt it would be wise to set up private schools on the homesite, and has provided that school and religious life be in the public schools and in churches of the children's own choice in Eaton Rapids.

During its nearly 40 years of service, the VFW national home has provided care for a great number of children, many of whom lived there during their entire childhood. Hundreds have graduated from Eaton Rapids High School and a great number have gone on to schools of higher learning, including universities and trade schools. The higher learning is usually on scholarships provided by various individuals, VFW organizations, or by the home itself. More than 150 of our children served in World War II and Korea, and 3 of our fine young men paid the supreme sacrifice. Many received medals and citations and were wounded in service. They, like their fathers, have joined that great group of comrades who have served this Nation so very well.

The alumni of our home make up an impressive list of engineers, lawyers, doctors, businessmen, farmers, nurses, secretaries, and homemakers provide care for their own children. They have fitted themselves well into the social and industrial life of our Nation. Most of our graduates now have their own families, and those living near our national home often return for visits, along with their children, to this great institution which gave them their chance in life.

If the VFW had no other function, its existence would certainly be justified by the opportunity furnished our children.

May I conclude by saying what inspired these remarks before the Congress. The VFW national home is operated by a board of trustees, made up of 10 home districts representing the States of the United States. This board serves a period of 5 years on staggered terms, so that two trustees are subject to election each year. This year I was honored by election to the board of trustees, representing district 4, which is Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, and Indiana.

The other new trustee to join the board was Dr. Guy C. Richardson, of Bristol, Va.

At its first meeting, the board elected Mrs. Hedwig Olson, of Denison, Iowa, as president, and Benjamin F. Winn, of Rohnert Park, Calif., as vice president. The board also reelected Charles A. Wagner, of Dearborn, Mich., as attorney, and Mr. A. E. Littlefield, of Eaton Rapids, as secretary-treasurer. Both of these men have served the home for many years.

Other trustees are Thomas Bennett, of Bridgeport, Conn.; Mrs. Gertrude Rhind, of Wilmington, Del.; Mr. William R. Baker, of Winnsboro, La.; Mr. Fred E. Barrett, of Chester, Mont.; Mr. Walter J. Gates, of Galveston, Tex.; and Mr. Wellington Rupp, of Seattle, Wash.

MONTANA FARM IN MICHIGAN AT THE VFW'S NATIONAL HOME

(Mr. OLSEN of Montana (at the request of Mr. ROUDEBUSH) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include an article.)

Mr. OLSEN of Montana. Mr. Speaker, in carrying on the discussion of the Veterans of Foreign Wars National Home, it is with great pride that I point out the participation of my State of Montana in making this national home a reality.

Mr. Speaker, this national home provides for what every mother and father in every section of our beloved country prays for. A place in the world where children may grow up, pursuing their quest for peace and contentment in a climate of peace and universal good will.

To explain fully the work the Montana VFW and auxiliary have done in making the Montana Farmstead a reality and a paying entity at the home, I include the article appearing in the March 3 issue of the Great Falls Tribune at this point in the RECORD:

MONTANA FARM IN MICHIGAN

(By Rita Lindblom)

One of the most unusual of Montana Farmsteads is deep in the dairyland of another State.

It's the Montana Farmstead at the Veterans of Foreign Wars National Home in south-central Michigan 23 miles from the State capital of Lansing.

The VFW National Home is a unique village of children—unique in that it is available only to widows, sons, and daughters of VFW members. It also is one of the most beautiful developed children's villages in the world.

Playing a large part in the financial and educational operations of the home is the Montana Farmstead, the pride of Montana VFW and auxiliary members who have more than \$56,000 invested in this modern dairy farm.

A Montanan, Fred Barrett, of Chester, has an important role in the operation of the home. He was elected president of the home board last October and will serve until October 1963.

When it was founded in 1925, the VFW National Home was a single farm cottage and a group of farm buildings on 472 acres. From the first family, the widow and 6 children of Sgt. Edward Pollett, it has grown to a present capacity of 250 children. There now are 195 children and 40 housemothers at the home.

The home today has 50 units, including 32 cottages, a modern hospital, day nursery, guest lodge, chapel, clothing and grocery store on a 50-acre campus, and the Montana Farmstead, with 590 acres of fertile dairy and orchard land.

The home was developed entirely within the VFW organization. State departments have provided many improvements, including family-sized cottages, a service center, picnic ground, private lake area, swimming pool, athletic field, water-softening system, firefighting equipment, and paved streets.

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Not all State organizations have had unit projects at the home, but children from all States are welcome if they meet eligibility requirements. There is no distinction as to creed.

When the Montana Veterans of Foreign Wars Department began its dairy farmstead project at the home in the fall of 1957, there were only an old barn and a farmhouse at the location.

Now there are a 10,000-bale hay barn with concrete yard, a 52 by 150-foot cattle barn or loafing parlor for the dairy cows, a modern milking parlor, new fencing, and new silos with an automatic silage mover connected to the feed bunk.

With the new farm setup, the milking herd was increased from about 40 head to more than 90, with more increases planned. During the past 5 years, the farm has developed to the point where a net profit of more than \$7,000 was realized last year to aid in the home's operation. Previously the farm was a nonpaying proposition, and in some years a liability.

All finances for the home are direct donations from VFW and auxiliary members with the exception of the public buddy poppy sale; which is VFW-sponsored—1 penny for every poppy sold goes to the home. The sale of VFW National Home Christmas Seals to VFW and auxiliary members accounts for the largest single income item, about \$200,000 net annually. The current operating budget is over a half million dollars.

The home has pioneered in certain aspects of residential child care methods and is recognized as one of the finest in the United States. Child care experts from all over the world visit the home, many of them at the suggestion of the United Nations, to observe and learn its methods.

No children are adopted from the home. Families are kept intact. The average child at the home has been there for more than 3 years, some for their entire childhood.

Children attend public school in Eaton Rapids, 4 miles distant. Those old enough to attend church are required to affiliate themselves with the church of their family choice and participate in youth groups of Eaton Rapids churches.

Many home graduates have gone on to college, helped by VFW and other scholarships. More than 150 have served in the Armed Forces. Graduates who now have their own families often return to show their children the home that gave them a good start in life.

The home is one of the ways in which the VFW keeps its pledge of "honoring the dead by helping the living."

REMARKS TO BE PRINTED IN THE BODY OF THE PERMANENT RECORD FOR NOVEMBER 21, 1963

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the remarks of the gentleman from New York [Mr. WHARTON] be printed in the body of the permanent RECORD for November 21, 1963.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maryland?

There was no objection.

NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY

(Mr. BRAY (at the request of Mr. MATHIAS) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the ramifications of the nuclear test ban treaty are

of concern to all of us and we will continue to study them as time goes on.

One of the most worthwhile discussions I have seen on the subject is in the following article by Dr. Lev Dobriansky which appeared in the Ukrainian Quarterly:

THE NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY AND THE COLD WAR

(By Lev E. Dobriansky)

With the so-called first step toward guaranteeing the peace, it would do well for most Americans to learn an old Turkestanian proverb: "When you travel with a Russian, make sure you carry an ax." The Kennedy administration has decided to travel with the Russians on the limited nuclear test ban treaty. What ax, if any, is it carrying?

The partial nuclear test ban treaty may well give rise to the biggest hoax of the cold war. The hoax is the beginning of the end of the cold war itself. Many Americans already are talking in this uncritical vein. If such talk should assume serious proportions, the unwavering enemy will have scored a momentous victory in the cold war. The effects of this spreading illusion would be catastrophic for our cold war efforts and operations, inferior though they have been.

In the Senate hearings on the treaty many delicate questions and points will undoubtedly be raised. Indeed, the treaty itself is an awful gamble with our national security. Testing of all kinds is necessary for the advancement of our military technological knowledge and thus, in all its ramifications, of our national interests. Testing is by nature experimentation, and through the latter we learn more in ways of development and control. Even the dangers of fallout have by this normal process been reduced to a thin minimum. Are we to deprive ourselves of such critical knowledge because of emotional and irrational pleas for peace, much of it stimulated by Moscow's propaganda machine for the past 8 years? The greatest guarantee against the outbreak of a hot global war is our overall military and technological superiority. The treaty does not conduce to this guarantee.

Also, what of the indispensable development of the antimissile missile, which only by atmospheric testing can be efficiently undertaken? Would a ratified treaty lead to the demobilization of our nuclear capital as represented by our assembled scientists, engineers, facilities, and so forth? Who in his right mind would trust the Russians not to cheat on undetectable nuclear explosions in the atmosphere under 1 kiloton and the use of their results for adapted massive missile development? Furthermore, since it is held with some validity that the heavy expenditures involved in nuclear testing have compelled the Russian totalitarians to seize upon this treaty, aren't we relieving them of this extra burden to patch up their imperial economy for even more intensive cold war operations—the Chicoms?

The burden of these and many more questions rests with the proponents of this treaty, not its opponents. Even from a strictly legal point of view the treaty is subject to serious question. Much can and will be made of article IV in the treaty which states that "each party shall in exercising its national sovereignty have the right to withdraw from the treaty." What national sovereignty is exercised by an empire-state such as the Soviet Union, and a democratic but multinational entity like United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland? Two of the three "original parties," the depository governments, are mischaracterized and fallaciously defined right from the start. If parties to a contract are misrepresented in light of fact and logic, the entire contract is overshadowed by this basic invalidity. In

a court of law such an ill-based contract could hardly survive the court's objective strictures. Why should it in this all-important case? Or are we to multiply error and fiction?

Highly important, too, for a studied consideration of the treaty are the points of an armaments race and a succeeding non-aggression pact. The treaty is supposed to herald the intention of curbing the armaments race. In developing more powerful and efficient weapons the United States has been in no race. Regardless of what Moscow does or does not do, our goal should unqualifiedly be an adequacy of the best weapons along the full spectrum of weaponry. As to a succeeding nonaggression pact between NATO and the Warsaw Pact nations, a ratification of the partial test ban treaty should in no way be interpreted as a predication for such a pact. Khrushchev's one great dream has been to obtain our acceptance of his empire. In point of logic, for a nonaggressor to agree with a historical aggressor on nonaggression is a rather one sided and even absurd agreement. As an imperio colonialist power, Moscow, in fact, is in a state of constant aggression, and any such simple agreement on nonaggression would sanctify this state. It is all important to keep the test ban treaty and this proposed pact strictly apart.

Perhaps the most important of questions bears on the cold war implications of the test ban treaty? Is it, as the President has said, a shaft of light in the cold war? To believe this is only a psychological preparation for the hoax mentioned earlier. Such naive belief runs counter to the facts of typical Russian cold war play; it blindly ignores the utterances of the Soviet Russian totalitarians. More, it reduces our own effectiveness. The test ban treaty itself is in part the result of Russian cold war calculation.

From Moscow's point of view, the treaty can serve numerous ends. It is a slap at Red China; it will decelerate American progress in military technology and weaponry; it can accommodate Russian cheating; it will permit the retention of Russian superiority in high megatonnage weaponry; it will allow a diversion of resources in the economy that might enhance output for more effective cold war operations; and it is a lever for the exactation of a possible nonaggression pact and all that this would entail to the cold war detriment of the United States and the free world.

Neither can Moscow's sudden accession to the test ban treaty be divorced from its evaluation of the political factors surrounding Washington and London. Administrations in both centers will be up for election next year, and in both the United States and Great Britain the pressure to show something as an offset to Cuba and the scandalous Profumo case, respectively, is intense.

The treaty and its assumed observance will in no way lead to the cessation of the cold war. The treaty cannot rationally be regarded as even the first step to any such eventuality. Indeed, to think in the most ultimate terms that the cold war could end without the necessary collapse of the imperial structure maintained by Moscow suggests both an unfamiliarity with East European history and a failure to understand the nature of the cold war itself. But, for that matter, both deficiencies have for too long punctuated U.S. foreign policy.

Moreover, despite its imperialist rift with Peking, Moscow has been thoroughly consistent in its resolve to wage the cold war on the basis on its meaning of "peaceful coexistence." Taking just the most recent period, we should review a few examples of Moscow's meaning. In January 1957, Khrushchev minced no words when he declared: "For all of us *** Stalin's name is inseparable from Marxism-Leninism. Therefore,